

CHAPTER EIGHT

VARIETIES OF AMERICAN NATIONALISM

Objectives

A thorough study of Chapter Eight should enable the student to understand:

1. The effects of the War of 1812 on banking, shipping, farming, industry, and transportation.
2. The "era of good feelings" as a transitional period.
3. The causes of the Panic of 1819, and the effects of the subsequent depression on politics and the economy.
4. The arguments advanced by North and South during the debates over the admission of Missouri, and how they were to influence sectional attitudes.
5. The ways in which the status of the federal judiciary was changed by the Marshall Court, and how the Court's decisions altered the relationships between the federal government and the states and the federal government and business.
6. The reasons why President James Monroe announced his "doctrine" in 1823, and its impact on international relations at the time.
7. Presidential politics in the "era of good feelings," and how they altered the political system.
8. The frustrations experienced by John Quincy Adams during his term as president.
9. The reasons why Andrew Jackson was elected in 1828, and the significance of his victory.

Main Themes

1. How postwar expansion shaped the nation during the "era of good feelings."
2. How it was that sectionalism and nationalism could exist at the same time and in the same country.
3. How the "era of good feelings" came to an end and a new two-party system emerged.

Glossary

1. internal improvements: The building of canals and roads, the improvement of harbors, and the clearing of rivers to improve transportation and stimulate commerce. To be done with the help of the national government, this was a major part of the postwar nationalistic program. The concept was opposed by those who felt it was too expensive or was an unconstitutional assumption of the rights and responsibilities of the states.
2. wildcat bank: Usually defined as a state bank in the West, organized with little capital resources, free with credit, and generally unsound. These banks were responsible for much of the land speculation in the West, and when the bank of the United States began to tighten credit restrictions, they were among the first to fail. This had much to do with the West's dislike for the Bank.
3. diplomacy: The conducting of negotiations between nations and the drawing up of treaties. The act of concluding an alliance to national advantage.
4. American nationalism: Between 1820 and 1840, many American politicians advocated programs that stressed the supremacy of the central government over the states, called for direct federal involvement to aid the growth of commerce, and in general advocated an aggressive course of action designed to make America a nation without equal. Much of their program, embodied in

Henry Clay's American System, resembled Hamiltonian federalism, but with a significant difference. These nationalists, unlike their Federalist counterparts, decided not to oppose the rising tide of democracy, but chose to present their programs in such a way as to appeal to the common man.

5. American System: The plan, advanced by Henry Clay, that was designed to foster commercial growth and economic stability. Its basic components consisted of a tariff to protect "infant industries" and to secure American jobs (thus making it appealing to labor), a national bank into which the money from the tariff (and other taxes) would be deposited, and an internal-improvements program paid for by the federal government. As conceived, money raised from taxes would pay for the roads, canals, and the like designed to improve transportation and thus stimulate more commerce, which would produce more jobs and revenue. To keep this growing economy stable would be the function of the bank, which would issue notes and make loans for business development and expansion. Therefore, all three elements were linked in a cycle of taxing, banking, and spending that made it difficult to oppose one without opposing them all.
6. contract clause: The clause in the Constitution (Article I, Section 10) that prohibits the government (national or state) and individuals from impairing the obligation of contract.
7. commerce clause: The clause in the Constitution (Article I, Section 8) that gives the national government the power to regulate foreign commerce as well as commerce between the states (interstate commerce).
8. necessary-and-proper clause: The clause in the Constitution (Article I, Section 8) that authorizes Congress to make "all laws" necessary and proper to carry out its powers; also called the "elastic" or "implied powers" clause.

Pertinent Questions

A GROWING ECONOMY (218-221)

1. Who were the leading exponents of the "national" over the "local" or "sectional" point of view that rose after the war? What factors contributed to the growth and development of this attitude?
2. What were the programs proposed by the "nationalists" to deal with problems of currency and credit, "infant industries," and transportation? How were these separate programs linked together into a cohesive plan to develop America?
3. What was the "internal improvements bill"? How did it fit into the nationalists' program, and what happened to it?

EXPANDING WESTWARD (221-225)

4. What were the general characteristics of the westward movement after the War of 1812, and what geographical factors affected the decisions of where to settle?
5. How did the advance of the southern frontier differ from the advance of settlement in the North?
6. Describe the trade that developed between the western regions of North America and the United States early in the nineteenth century.

THE "ERA OF GOOD FEELINGS" (225-227)

7. Why were the leaders of New England disturbed at the nomination and election of James Monroe for president, and what did Monroe do to calm these fears?

8. Why did the United States want to annex Florida? How did the Adams-Onís negotiations resolve the issue?
9. What were the causes of the Panic of 1819? What political and economic issues did the Panic raise?

SECTIONALISM AND NATIONALISM (227-231))

10. What were the major elements of disagreement in the debate over the admission of Missouri into the Union?
11. What was the Missouri Compromise? Why did nationalists regard it as a "happy resolution of a danger to the Union"? Why were others less optimistic?
12. What was the net effect of the opinions delivered by the Marshall Court? How did these opinions reflect John Marshall's philosophy of government?
13. Who led the opposition to the Marshall Court, and what was the position they took in denouncing it?
14. How did the case of Cohens v. Virginia answer these critics?
15. What was the long-range significance of the case of Gibbons v. Ogden? Of immediate importance, how did this case help to blunt criticism of the Court?
16. How were the nationalist inclinations of the Marshall Court visible in its decisions concerning the legal status of Indian tribes within the United States?
17. How was it that the United States' proclamation of neutrality in the wars between Spain and its colonies actually aided the colonies? Why did the United States do this?
18. What was the Monroe Doctrine? Why was it announced and what was its significance?

THE REVIVAL OF OPPOSITION (231-233)

19. Why was the caucus system viewed with such disdain before the election of 1824?
20. Who were the candidates in the election of 1824? What was the "platform" of each?
21. What was the outcome of the election in 1824? How was that result arrived at, and what part did Henry Clay play in it?
22. What was the "corrupt bargain," and why did it take place?
23. What did John Quincy Adams plan to accomplish during his presidency? What role was the federal government to play in these plans? Was he successful? Why?
24. What problems brought on the tariff debates of 1827 and 1828? In what way did the South respond to northeastern demands for a higher tariff, and on what did the antitariff forces base their stand?
25. What was the outcome of these tariff debates, and why was it that few were pleased with these results?
26. How had Andrew Jackson's supporters prepared for the election of 1828? What were the issues in the campaign, and what was the outcome?
27. Who were the National Republicans? Who were their leaders? What programs did they support, and from what areas did they draw their strength?

Identification

Identify each of the following, and explain why it is important within the context of the chapter.

1. Second Bank of the United States
2. "infant industries"
3. Francis C. Lowell
4. National Road
5. Black Belt
6. William Becknell
7. Rocky Mountain Fur Company
8. Jedediah S. Smith
9. "Great American Desert"
10. "Presidential Jubilee"
11. Tallmadge Amendment
12. Thomas Amendment
13. Fletcher v. Peck
14. Dartmouth College v. Woodward
15. McCulloch v. Maryland
16. Gibbons v. Ogden
17. Johnson v. McIntosh
18. Worcester v. Georgia
19. "King Caucus"
20. The American System
21. "tariff of abominations"
22. "coffin handbill"

Document

One of the issues that led to the revival of the two-party system was the protective tariff. Henry Clay emerged as a champion of the tariff and made it a critical part of his American System. Below is an excerpt from an 1824 speech by Clay. How does he appeal to the nationalistic sentiments of the period to draw support for his cause? How does he answer the criticism that a protective tariff helps some at the expense of others? In what way does he attempt to neutralize southern opposition to the plan? Do you think the South will accept his argument?

Having called the attention of the committee to the present adverse state of our country, and endeavored to point out the causes which have led to it; having shewn that similar causes, wherever they exist in other countries, lead to the same adversity in their condition; and having shewn that, wherever we find opposite causes prevailing, a high and animating state of national prosperity exists, the committee will agree with me in thinking that it is the solemn duty of government to apply a remedy to the evils which afflict our country, if it can apply one. Is there no remedy within the reach of the government? Are we doomed to behold our industry languish and decay yet more and more? But there is a remedy, and that remedy consists in modifying our foreign policy, and in adopting a genuine American System. We must naturalize the arts in our country, and we must naturalize them by the only means which the wisdom of nations has yet discovered to be effectual—by adequate protection against the otherwise overwhelming influence of foreigners. This is only to be accomplished by the establishment of a tariff, to the consideration of which I am now brought.

And what is this tariff? It seems to have been regarded as a sort of monster, huge and deformed; a wild beast, endowed with tremendous powers of destruction, about to be let loose among our people,

but slave states) as a threat. Southern politicians, it was apparent, had come to equate the expansion of slavery with the expansion of their own political philosophy (and power). How true these beliefs were is not the issue. What is important is that they were believed, and, as the years passed, more would come to share these convictions. Countering this divisive force was the growing spirit of nationalism and the emergence of two parties—both with a national following. These developments seemed to overshadow sectional concerns, and with the election of Andrew Jackson, one of the most popular political figures since George Washington, the nation seemed more concerned with unity than division. How long this was to last was another question.

Review Questions

These questions are to be answered with essays. This will allow you to explore relationships between individuals, events, and attitudes of the period under review.

1. After the War of 1812, there emerged a group of Republicans who urged the nation to consider "national" issues rather than "local" or "sectional" matters. So persistent were they that many of their party contended that they were abandoning the basic principles laid down by Jefferson. Were they? Was this new group Jeffersonian or something else? Examine the things the nationalists proposed for the nation, then go back to Chapter Six and compare their plans with those of Jefferson and Hamilton. To which do the nationalists seem more closely allied? What does this tell you about the nature of political parties and political ideas at this time? Also, how does the emergence of the nationalists relate to the decline of the Federalists?
2. Nationalism was a unifying factor in the 1820s, but how did this nationalistic attitude, which was so evident in domestic affairs, influence foreign policy? What were the effects of nationalism on American foreign policy during this period, and what forces, if any, tended to negate its influence?
3. Although they were dead as a national party, the Federalists, and their political philosophy, continued to influence American politics. Explain how the Federalists were able to continue to make their presence known, what they hoped to accomplish, and how the ideas of Hamilton reappeared, in slightly altered form, under the national Republican banner.
4. How did the career of John Marshall contribute to the rise of nationalism during this era? In what specific areas did he increase the power of the national government? Of the two political parties, which was more likely to support Marshall? Why?
5. The War of 1812, although fought for free seas and sailors' rights, was opposed by the group most directly interested in seagoing commerce, the New England merchants. Why? Why did these people not see a threat to their independence in the policies of Great Britain, yet see the policies of Jefferson and Madison as just that? Put yourself in the place of those merchants, and, from their point of view, explain (and justify) the position they took.

Chapter Self Test

After you have read the chapter in the text and done the exercises in the Study Guide, take the following self test to see if you understand the material you have covered. Answers appear at the end of the Study Guide.

MULTIPLE-CHOICE QUESTIONS

Circle the letter of the response which best answers the question or completes the statement.

1. Which of the following did not occur after the War of 1812?
 - a. Commerce revived and expanded.
 - b. An economic boom was followed by a disastrous bust.
 - c. All banking was left to the states.
 - d. Westward expansion accelerated dramatically.
2. After peace was restored, "infant industries" that prospered during the war:
 - a. were strong enough to withstand British competition.
 - b. expanded into foreign markets.
 - c. were competitive with foreign markets.
 - d. demanded that the government protect them from foreign competition.
3. After the war, the nation's most pressing economic need was:
 - a. access to foreign markets that were not open to our commerce.
 - b. a trained labor force to work in complex industries.
 - c. a transportation system that would provide manufacturers access to raw materials and markets.
 - d. a system by which worn-out soil could be reclaimed.
4. The second Bank of the United States could deal with the nation's currency problem by:
 - a. prohibiting state banks from issuing notes.
 - b. using its size and power to compel state banks to issue sound notes or go out of business.
 - c. using only gold and silver as currency.
 - d. dealing only with major land speculators.
5. According to "nationalists" in the government, "internal improvements" should be financed by:
 - a. a series of local, internal improvement taxes.
 - b. the national government.
 - c. the states in which the "improvements" are made.
 - d. private investments.
6. The administration of President James Monroe was called the "Era of Good Feelings" because:
 - a. it was a time of few factional disputes and partisan divisions.
 - b. there were no economic depressions.
 - c. most Americans were content to remain where they were.
 - d. the national bank successfully managed the economy.
7. Which of the following was not a reason for the "great migration" westward?
 - a. An increased population.
 - b. The end of Indian opposition to expansion.
 - c. The government "factor" system.
 - d. A shift from farming to industry in the West.

8. The Black Belt was:
 - a. the area where most were settled.
 - b. an area of dark, rotted limestone soil that was excellent for cotton.
 - c. a burned-over region in upstate New York.
 - d. the dark swamps of southern Georgia and northern Florida.
9. In the American mind of the 1820s the far west was seen as:
 - a. a great desert.
 - b. a wooded region like the Northeast.
 - c. a paradise on earth.
 - d. rich farmland ready to be settled.
10. The Panic of 1819:
 - a. brought a halt to western expansion for decades.
 - b. convinced the West that the national bank was a sound institution.
 - c. did little to change American attitudes toward growth and expansion.
 - d. removed the national bank as a political issue.
11. The Missouri crisis, which was settled by a compromise in 1820, was significant because it was a sign of sectional crisis and because it:
 - a. revealed how strong pro-slavery attitudes were.
 - b. revealed how deep anti-slavery attitudes were.
 - c. stood in such sharp contrast to the rising American nationalism of the 1820s.
 - d. involved most of the major politicians of the day.
12. John Marshall's influence on the Supreme Court was so great that he:
 - a. was able to get whomever he wanted appointed to the bench.
 - b. more than anyone other than the farmers themselves, molded the development of the Constitution.
 - c. was able to ignore the other justices.
 - d. could singlehandedly overturn acts of Congress.
13. The lasting significance of Gibbons v. Ogden was that it:
 - a. opened the way for steamboat travel on the Mississippi.
 - b. confirmed the state's right to regulate commerce.
 - c. made peace between the court and the Adams administration.
 - d. freed transportation systems from restraints by the states.
14. The decisions of the Marshall Court:
 - a. established the primacy of the federal government in regulating the economy.
 - b. gave strength to the doctrine of state rights.
 - c. destroyed what was left of Hamiltonian federalism.
 - d. opened the way for an increased federal role in promoting economic growth.
 - e. achieved a. and d.
 - f. achieved b. and c.

15. In its rulings concerning the Indian tribes, the Marshall Court held that:
 - a. the national government, not the states, had authority.
 - b. Indians were citizens like everyone else.
 - c. Indians had the same status as slaves.
 - d. tribal lands belong to the states.
16. The charge of a "corrupt bargain" was raised when:
 - a. Clay supported Adams for the presidency and was appointed secretary of state.
 - b. Jackson promised to reward his supporters if he won.
 - c. Adams won with the support of southern planters.
 - d. the Republican caucus threw its support to Adams.
17. Adams's nationalistic program, which was a lot like Clay's American System, was not funded because:
 - a. the nation could not afford it.
 - b. business opposed it.
 - c. western interests opposed it.
 - d. Jackson's supporters in Congress voted against it.
18. In his victory in 1828, Jackson drew his greatest support from the:
 - a. South and the West.
 - b. New England region and the Southeast.
 - c. Middle Atlantic states and the Old Northwest.
 - d. South and the Middle Atlantic states.

TRUE-FALSE QUESTIONS

Read each statement carefully. Mark true statements "T" and false statements "F."

1. Difficulties in financing the War of 1812 underlined the need for a national bank.
2. Tariffs were generally favored by manufacturing interests but opposed by those who made their living from agriculture.
3. One reason for the growing interest in internal improvements was the sudden and dramatic surge in westward expansion in the years following the War of 1812.
4. The second Bank of the United States was essentially the same institution Hamilton founded.
5. Because Jefferson had opposed Hamilton's plans, his administration did little to meet the nation's internal improvement needs.
6. The advance of the southern frontier meant the spread not just of cotton but also of slavery.
7. Andrew Jackson took Florida, and the Adams-Onís Treaty made it legal.
8. For America's rapidly growing population the Southwest offered the best opportunity for land on which to farm.
9. During this period Americans had little interest in the far West, so there was little trade with that region.
10. In McCulloch v. Maryland the Supreme Court declared the national bank unconstitutional.
11. The decision in Gibbon v. Ogden was popular because it was a stand against monopoly power.
12. The Marshall Court's rulings concerning the Indian tribes were among its most popular decisions.

13. The Monroe Doctrine was passed by Congress and immediately became an important part of our foreign policy.
14. The political divisions that appeared in the late 1820s were in no way related to the divisions of the 1790s.
15. Henry Clay's "American System" included a national bank, a protective tariff, and federally funded internal improvements.
16. The Panic of 1819 convinced many Americans that a national bank was a bad idea.
17. Thomas Jefferson was convinced that the Missouri Compromise had solved the question of the expansion of slavery.
18. The decisions of the Marshall Court established the primacy of the federal government over the states in regulating the economy.
19. In 1828, Andrew Jackson lost the presidential election because he was too closely identified with an "economic aristocracy" that his enemies claimed controlled him.
20. John Quincy Adams opposed Georgia's efforts to gain control of Creek Indians' land within the state.